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Political and Economic Positions of COCOM and Other Developed Nations on the Afghan Crisis

An Intelligence Assessment

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An Intelligence Assessment

Research for this report was completed on 14 January 1980.

This assessment was prepared by analysts in the Offices of Economic Research and Political Analysis. Coordination has been made with the National Intelligence Officer for Political Economy. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to

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Overview

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Key Allied governments all issued immediate and, in most cases, very strong condemnations of the Societ invasion of Afghanistan and are backing the US grain embargo against the USSR. In considering other options for response, they are torn between their apprehension about Societ intentions and the pull of stronger US leadership. Leaders are still sorting out these forces and many, facing elections, may be waiting to read public opinion. Although they may be encouraged to take sanctions of their own as the United States continues to act, they must weigh the impact of any sanctions on their interests and vulnerabilities vis-a-vis the USSR. In each case these factors are different.

Economic Vulnerability

In the aggregate, developed country dependence on the USSR is small. Although trade with the USSR expanded rapidly during the 1970s, it still accounts for only about 2 percent of total Western exports and imports. The USSR buys mainly grain, steel, and manufactures from the West and sells fuel, raw materials, and semifinished goods.

Western dependence on the USSR is more substantial for certain types of products. Some West European countries rely on the Soviets for a substantial portion of their fuel supplies, supplies that have become more important with the upheaval in Iran. Although an embargo on Soviet exports of metals to the West would create serious problems in some cases, it would not in general have major industrial repercussions on the United States or the other major industrial countries.

For the large West European nations and Japan, the Soviets provide a major market for the products of specific companies and regions, particularly with a recession on the way. With elections coming up this year or next in Canada, Japan, West Germany, France, and probably Italy, political leaders there will be looking to protect regional and sectoral economic interests.

 The Coordinating Committee (COCOM) approves or disapproves sales of equipment and high technology to the Commissist countries

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Western governments also are keenly aware of their financial exposure to the USSR. At yearend 1978, the USSR owed around \$7 billion to official lending agencies and \$10 billion to private Western banks.

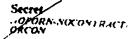
As of last September the Soviets owed some \$900 million to US banks and their foreign subsidiaries and roughly \$450 million to the US Export-Import Bank.

Soviet Reaction to Sanctions

Although we strongly doubt that Moscow would take economic reprisals against Western sanctions, Allied governments are not so sanguine. In view of the importance of continued access to Western equipment, technology, and grain to Soviet economic development, we believe the Kremlin does not want to risk provoking a further cutoff in Western exports, which could result from a heavyhanded reaction. It seems highly unlikely that the Soviets will abrogate existing contracts, including those for shipments of natural gas, oil, timber, or chemicals to the West. Chances for an across-the-board debt default we pullout of financial assets similarly appear minimal.

Moscow's reaction, if any, would probably be to emphasize the economic gains to be obtained by nations not siding with the United States. These countries might find the USSR more accommodating in discussions on major Soviet purchases of equipment or in negotiations for the delivery of Soviet fuels or other commodities in short supply

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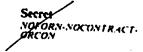
France's hard line against any sanctions primarily reflects the special relationship the French believe they have with the USSR, but it also shows their desire to conduct foreign policy independent of the United States where possible. Paris likes to act as an intermediary between Washington and Moscow, but this role has not given France the edge it seeks in obtaining major trade benefits from the USSR. Indeed, Paris is concerned that contracts for exports to the Soviet Union have slowed in the past few years and is anxious to sign new ones. Despite their words to the contrary, French actions make us believe that they would not hesitate to pick up future contracts that would have gone to US firms. Such deals will become more important as the government directs greater attention to reducing unemployment prior to the election.



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The Italian Government has remained silent on the question of sanctions against the USSR in part because of fears the Italian Communist Party neight use the issue to further weaken Prime Minister Cossiga's tenuous hold on power. The Communist Party has denounced Moscow's move into Afghanistan but opposes any further response as detrimental to detente—an idea with much popular support in Italy. The official silence also reflects concern about endangering Italy's large natural gas imports from the Soviet Union and its chances for new export contracts to help correct the trade imbalance with the USSR. Against these factors, the interests of some political leaders in supporting the United States—as a means of enhancing Italy's status in the Wester. Alliance and thus forestalling the Communist Party's drive for Cabinet's in—are not likely to weigh very heavily.

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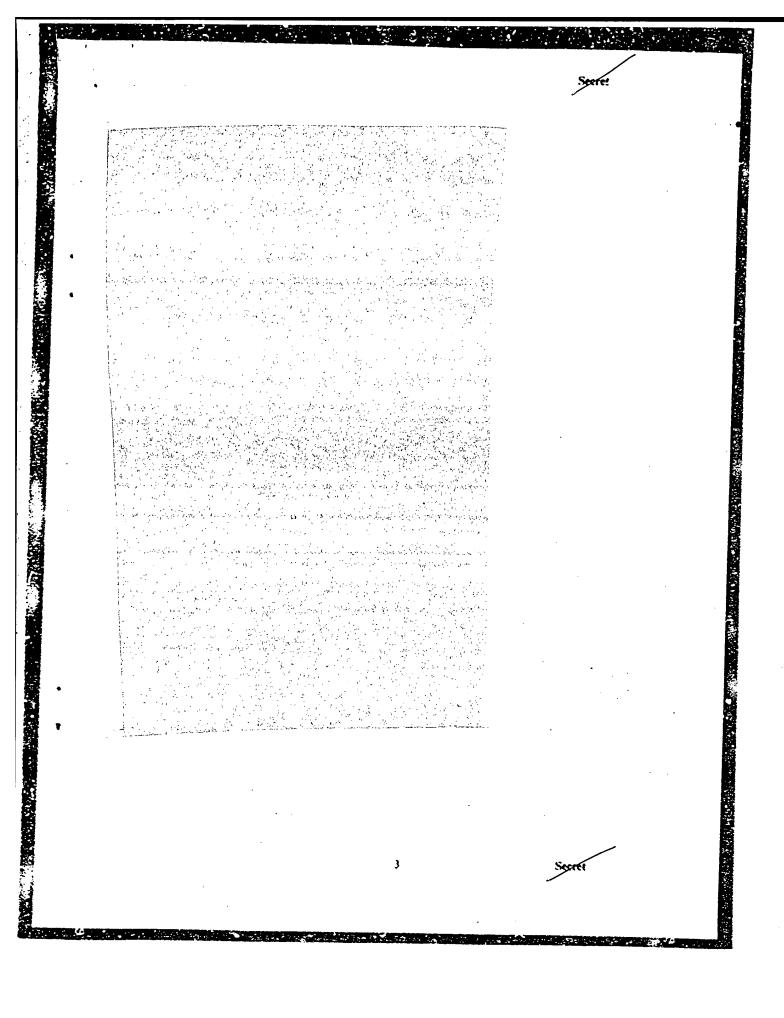
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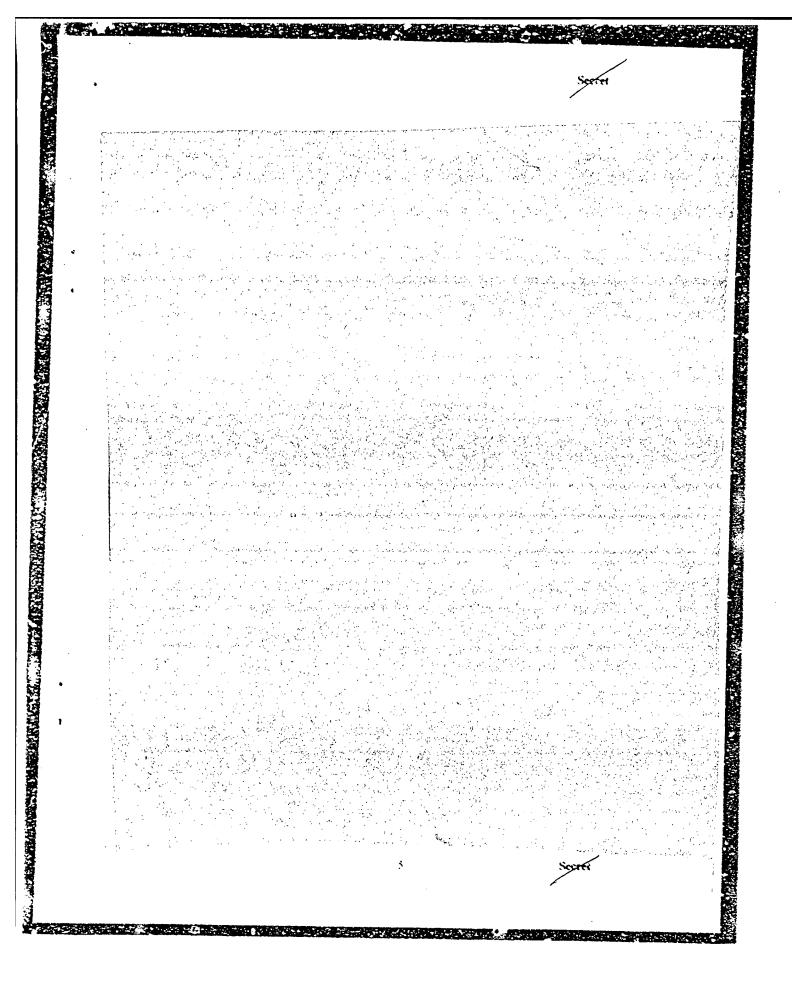
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France

Paris is currently weighing its kern interest in maintaining its "special relationship" with Moscow against its concerns about oil, Africa, and Western Europe. Thus far, France does not see Soviet action in Afghanistan as a threat sufficient to jeopardize detente and the French independence of action that has gone along with it. Although trade with the USSR is relatively small and specific dependencies are of the regional importance, Paris still hopes to become Moscow's leading Western supplier of industrial equipment.

Initial Receives

The French Government's condemnation of Soviet intervention was somewhat less than ringing. Following the US anacuncement of economic measures against the USSR, Paris stated flatly that it would not use its economic/commercial relations with the Soviet Union for political ends. The French also have thus far blacked any major decisions in NATO and EC councils and have ruled out an Olympics boycott. Paris has, however, supported a US proposal for UN condemnation of the USSR. Although the French Government promised not to take commercial advactage of other countries' actions against the Soviet Union, this may be a short-term commitment only. Paris is vitally interested in developing French hightechnology industries, including expanding exports. International pressure would have to be extremely great to prevent France from picking up Soviet contracts that might have gone to US or other Western firms. Indeed, a French competitor of a US seismic equipment supplier contacted Soviet officials on 7 January about a deal Moscow is close to signing with a US firmi

Petitical/Diplemente Concerns Parameters
The French view of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is strongly conditioned by concern over the preservation of detente and the French independence of action that has gone along with it. Domestic political pressures have counted for little so far, although they could still take on some importance.

French leaders do not yet seem convinced that Westera equition are crear-cut enough to warrant measures the Soviets might use as a pretext for abandoning detente. This line of reasoning stems from France's attachment not only to the obvious benefits that detente bestows on all, but also to the lease on foreign policy independence it gives to a "middle power" such as France. The french do not believe they would have this degree of freedom in an international setting characterized by superpowers locked in unyielding, bipolar confrontation. It follows that Paris will likely explore every interpretation of events and every avenue of action or inaction short of a return to a general cold war atmosphere.

France's current policy is designed to avoid riling Moscow and to maintain the "special relationship" the two countries have nurtured since De Gaulle's time. To this end, the French have disassociated themselves from efforts in NATO and elsewhere to portray the problem in East-West terms, urging instead that the problem in East-West terms, urging instead that the situation be viewed in a Seviet-Third World context. Paris has argued against treating the Soviets as a hostile nation, eschewed economic sanctioes—which in any event they do not believe will be effective—and indicated a desire to proceed insofar as possible with business as usual, apparently even on their process for a Conference on European Disarmament

Paris nevertheless recognizes that detente has been wounded and that certain adjustments in French-Soviet relations may be necessary. The French have taken a tough line with the Soviets and in all likelihood will continue to do so. They also have joined in UN efforts to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

There are doubtless those in French policymaking circles who put a more alarmist interpretation on the invasion and its relationship to developments in Iran than does present policy. These voices surely argue that

the invasion enhances Soviet ability to threaten the West's oil supplies and that the reaction not only of France but of the West as a whole reflects shortsightedness and weakness. If for the time being French leaders have chosen to emphasize detente over other factors, there is no reason to believe they could not or would not change their stance if developments were to take a turn for the worse.

France's "special relationship" with the United States also figures in the French approach to Afghanistan. Having struggled for years to avoid domination by the United States, and having found at least a purtial answer in detecate, Paris is understandably refuctant to follow unquestioningly the US lead on Afghanistan. Thus, although Paris has recently responded to US pressure by hardening somewhat the tone of its public stand on the invasion, it does not seem to have releated on the more basic elements of its position.

France's intent to maintain its independence makes Afghanistan a potentially important domestic issue. With maneuvering already under way for the 1981 presidential election, Giscard cannot afford to make a mistake on such a major issue. His policy already has come in for some criticism. The Gaullists, for example, have taken the government to task for not standing closer to Washington on this issue, but they could as easily have found fault with the government if its initial response had been more closely in tune with that of the United States. The government's ability to anticipate this sort of capriciousness—combined with its awareness that public opinion on Afghanistan is mixed—has given it a relatively free hand.

Barring developments that turn the Alghan situation into a full-blown East-West crisis, the French may see in their cautions, independent position an opportunity to play some sort of a mixedle role, either in bridging the gap between the superpowers or in providing a rallying point for Third World and nonaligned countries which may not be comfortable siding with the United States or the Soviets but which are deeply concerned about Alghanistan and desirous of a peaceful resolution of tensions.

Economic Considerations

France still has a long-unfulfilled cream of using its relatively independent foreign pricy stance as a lever to achieve preferential treatment in economic relations with the Soviets. France has the most active among the major West European countries in establishing regular exchanges of visits of officials and trade commissions. The economic results of its five- and 10-year cooperation agreements, its willingness to provide cheap credits, and its annual high-level meetings have not been particularly striking. The Soviets base practically all contracts on strict competitive terms, and France has never done better than possibly winning its share of projects.

Overall Trade Developments and Dependencies French trade with the Soviet Union expanded rapidly in the 1970s. Exports jumped from annual averages of about \$300 million in 1970-72 to \$1.5 billion in 1977. 78. French imports rose from \$250 million in the early 1970s to \$1.2 billion by the end of the decade. Dependence on the Soviet Union rose only marginally. however. In the early 1970s Soviet purchases accounted for about 1.5 percent of total French foreign sales, while imports from the Soviet Union were a little over I percent of total French imports. By the end of the decade, the Soviet Union accounted for less than 2 percent of French exports and 1.5 percent of French imports; moreover, the Soviet Union's share peaked in 1977 and is unlikely to rise significantly at least until after the early 1980s.

France joised other Western nations in actively courting Moscow in the mid-1970s in attempting to get in on the ground floor in Soviet development of what appeared to be hege reserves of oil and natural gas. In return for French pipe, Paris contracted for 1-2 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for 1976-79—up to 15 percent of total French imports—and planned to buy 5 billion cubic meters in 1980-81 and 8 billion cubic meters by 1990. Because of the lack of a pipeline, France has been fulfilling its agreement through a swap arrangement whereby the France-purchased gas is delivered directly to Italy, and France receives Dutch gas contracted by Rome. France also has been buying around 100,000 b/d of crude oil (5 percent of total imports). Purchases rose to about 150,000 b/d

last year. In addition, in 1978 Soviet oil products accounted for 18 percent of French imports. Overall, French imports of Soviet energy products—including \$250 million in uranium enriched in the USSR and returned to France and \$50 million in coal—totaled \$850 million in 1978, 70 percent of total French purchases from the Soviet Union. Other French purchases of some importance were cotton (\$100 million, one-third of total French cotton imports), wood (\$65 million, 9 percent), and unwrought aluminum (\$32 million, 9 percent).

Of major strategic metals, the Soviet Union is a preponderant supplier to France only of palladium (78 percent of French imports). France obtains about 10 percent of its supplies of chromium, magnesium, platinum, and rhodium from the USSR

On the other side of the coin, French firms export a wide range of industrial equipment to the Soviet Union. We are not aware of any major plant or firm that produces primarily for sale to the USSR. Besides a few small trading companies formed to promote commercial exchanges with the Soviet Union (including some designed specifically to facilitate compensation agreements), some firms producing tubes and pipes, metalworking machinery, and heating and cooling equipment would suffer to some degree if sales to the USSR were cut or eliminated.

Although the largest agricultural producer in Western Europe, France is only a marginal supplier of food to the Soviet Union, both in absolute terms and as shares of either French or Soviet trade. In 1978 French sales of food items to the Soviet Union totaled \$47.5 million, down sharply from \$127.1 million the previous year. The drop was due to major shipments of butter and sugar in 1977 (butter sales amounted to \$41 million in 1977 compared to \$19 million in 1978; sugar sales dropped from \$42 million to \$8 million). The most important French food exports in 1978 were barley (\$7.7 million, 1 percent of total French barley exports), malt (\$4.6 million, 3 percent), and alcoholic beverages (\$12.1 million, 1 percent of total French sales). In 1978 France sold no wheat or corn to the Soviet Union.

Recent Contracts

Paris is concerned that the slowdown in Soviet contract-signing in 1977-79 will lead to stagnation and possibly to declines in French sales. France thus has been particularly forceful in attempting to obtain Soviet signatures, particularly for projects under negotiation for several years. Recent contracts signed between Moscow and French firms include gas-lift equipment for enhanced oil recovery, computers and related equipment for TASS, and telephone switching equipment and possibly production facilities. The total value of these contracts will probably exceed \$1 billion.

The computer and telephone switching contracts have created some controversy. Following President Carter's 1978 decision to suspend temporarily a license to export a US computer in response to Soviet dissident trials, Paris announced with some fanfare that US pressures on its Western allies to follow suit would not be beeded. Stating that US pressures infrinced on French independence, Paris added-then as nowthat economic measures should not be employed for political ends. France immediately offered a Frenchbuilt computer to replace the American equipment, and a contract was signed in early 1979. Paris added that nine minicomputers and 108 programmable terminals would also be sold to TASS. In June 1979 Paris and Moscow announced an additional agreement for joint development of a new generation of computers and related equipment for the period 1985-95. Under its terms, CII-Honeywell Bult-47-percent owned by a US firm-would supply the technical know-how secoded to superade Moscow's increasingly obsolete network of medium-sized computers

France won a relatively small contract to supply telephone switching equipment in early 1979 that also had been bid for by a US firm. Following US Government hesitation to okay licenses for a US firm to build facilities producing components for the system within the USSR, France bid for this contract as well.

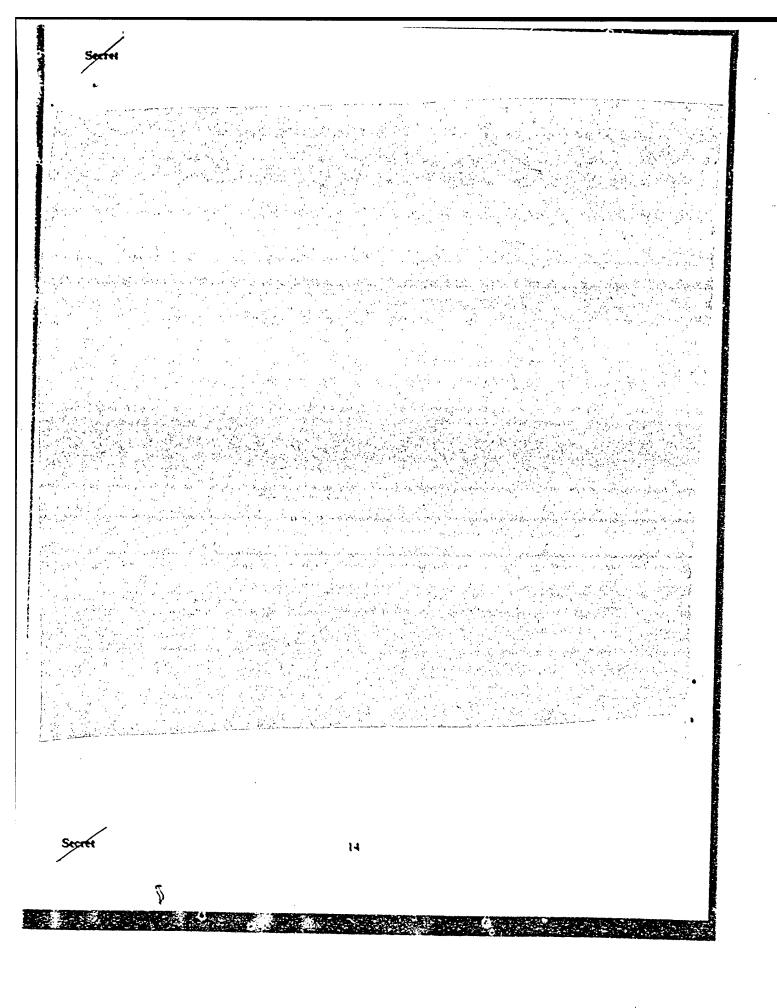
reance is hesitating because of the high share (up to 50 percent) of the technology falling under US license. Final agreements for both the equipment and the production facility are currently being held up pending Paris's review and final decision.

France rather reluctantly has signed several compensation contracts and is negotiating others. France joined several other West European nations in the 1970s in signing deals involving deliveries of Soviet natural gas in return for Western pipe and related equipment. Paris also has agreed to chemical plant compensation agreements whereby a share of the output is imported from the USSR. In the only major compensation agreement for a metallurgy project, the French firm Pechincy-Ugine-Kuhlmann agreed in 1976 to construct an alumina plant in Siberia and will receive 100,000 tons of aluminum bars annually for 10 years when the plant begins operation, probably later this year. The two most important projects currently under discussion-an aluminum smelter and modernization of factories producing the Moscvich automobile-both involve compensation, the first for more aluminum bars and the second for around one-third of the auto output. France is pushing hard on the aluminum deal but is reluctant to allow inroads into the domestic automobile market. The French Government estimates that approximately exe-fifth of France's imports from the Soviet Union currently fall under compensation agreements!

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Italy

Moscow appears to have the upper hand in eronomic relations with Italy. Italy imports a significant share of its energy supplies—both oil and natural gas—from the Soviet Union, and Rome is eager to eliminate a \$1 billion trade deficit with the Soviets through expanded sales. In addition, internal politics will make it extremely difficult for Rome to take punitive action against the USSR. Italy does not wish to be drawn into a conflict between the superpowers, and economic sanctions would be viewed by leftists in Rome as a dangerous repudiation of detente. Ruling by virtue of Socialist abstention in Parliament, Prime Minister Cossign has limited options in dealing with the

Initial Reactions

The Italian Government's initial response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has been to condemn the action and to call for a withdrawal of Soviet troops in both its public statements and in the parliamentary session recently held to discuss the issue. In addition, Rome concurred totally with the NATO decision to bring the Afghanistan question before the United Nations and has been active in trying to gain Third World support for this move. Prime Minister Cossign, as European Community President, has not taken the initiative in forging a Community position. In the area of bilateral relations with Afghanistan, the Italian Government has recalled its Ambassador to Kabul and has halted all forms of aid to the Karmal government. Aside from calling in Moscow's Ambassador to Rome, Cossign has not taken any other steps that might have an impact on Italian relations with the Soviet Union.

Political Factors

In Rome, opposition to the Soviet invasion is conditioned by the broadly based Italian view of detente as the foundation of international peace and stability. International detente has also been a major factor affecting interparty relations in Italy and, as a result, the Soviet action has probably had greater domestic political resonance there than in other West European countries. The issue cuts two ways: on the one hand, it underlines the wide distance still separating the Communists from the traditional governing parties. On the other hand, it highlights the weaknesses of the

Corsiga government, which must be careful not to take positions that the Communists and others can add to their list of grievances against the government

Prime Minister Cossign's government—which is dominated by his Thristian Democratic Party and excludes the Communists—remains in office by virtue of a Socialist parliamentary abstention. The Communists are exploiting Cossign's inability to deal effectively with Italy's pressing economic and public order problects to argue for a new government including Communist Cabinet ministers. His hold on power became even more tenuous recently after leftwing Socialists demanded that their party withdraw its backing and work together with the Communists for a broadly based coalition including both leftist parties.

Thus far, Cossign has tried to handle the Afghanistan issue in a way that diverts attention from the government's shortcomings and forestalls the Communists' drive for Cabinet seats. Italy's inclusion in the London meeting of NATO allies enhanced the government's international stature—and perhaps bought some time for Cossign at home. By demonstrating solidarity with the decisions taken by Italy's allies—particularly the move to bring the Afghanistan issue before the United Nations—Cossign can argue that his government has taken another step ensuring Rome's inclusion in the first rank of NATO powers.

The government's position on Afghanistan tends to highlight the ambiguity of the Communist attitude: the Communists have "repudiated" Moscow's actions but have so far failed to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The party has also charged that US countermeasures further damage detente. Even if the party toughens its criticism of Moscow, the Communists' domestic opponents will be able to say they have stopped short of a definitive break with the USSR. Cossiga undoubtedly bopes the debate will raise new doubts about the Communists' autonomy and suitability as conlition partners—at least until there is a relaxation in current international tensions

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The Communist emphasis on preserving detente, nowever, is one point on which the government is vulnerable. The government will have great difficulty in associating itself with measures, such as economic sanctions, that might be viewed as an escalation of tensions and a further impediment to detente. The Communists already have raised this issue by calling on Italy and other West European countries to develop NATO and EC initiatives aimed at mediating between the superpowers. Favorable comments on this proposal from the left wing of the pivotal Socialist Party underline Cossign's limited maneuvering room on the Afghanistan issue

In addition to the short-term consideration of selfpreservation, many Italian politicians are reluctant to alienate the Communists totally on this issue; they are convinced that some Communist involvement in the governing process will eventually be necessary to treat domestic problems effectively—even though Afghanistan may postpone the day of reckoning.

Economic Concerns

Bilateral trade flows between Italy and the Soviet Union give definite, although limited, leverage to Moscow in conducting foreign relations with Rome. The Italians are dependent upon the USSR for about 20 percent of their natural gas consumption and 5 percent of their petroleum one is anticipating an acute petroleum shortfall this year, and no alternative suppliers exist for Soviet natural gas. Including both gas and oil imports, about 7.5 percent of Italy's total energy requirements are supplied by the USSR

Italian energy policy has inadvertently increased Italy's economic dependence upon the Soviet Union. Rome has favored a switch from oil to natural gas, which now accounts for 15.5 percent of total energy consumption. The Soviet demand last fall for renegotiation of the natural gas contract angered Italian energy officials, but they admitted that no substitute for Soviet gas supplies will exist until the opening of the Trans-Mediterranean pipeline to Algeria—optimistically scheduled for 1981. Even then, Rome will wish to maintain, and increase, imports of Soviet gas to permit further switching from oil. The Soviets have made a loose commitment to increase Italian supplies once new Siberian gasfields are developed

Trade with the Soviet Union is minor relative to total Italian commerce. Sales to the USSR last year represented an estimated 1.6 percent of total Italian exports; imports from the Soviet Union amounted to 2.6 percent of total Italian foreign purchases. Italian exports to the Soviet Union have remained virtually flat since 1977 at the \$1.1 billion level, while Italian imports of Soviet goods last year probably were around \$2.2 billion.

While Soviet exports of raw materials are increasing dramatically because of rising prices, Italian sales to the USSR are stagnating. Moseow has informed Rome that future Italian exports will be dependent upon the supply of government-backed credit.

Commercial disputes between Moscow and Rome have generally resulted in logsided victories for the Soviets. Soviet pressure caused Rome to break the Gentlemen's Agreement on export credits in the 1977 Italian-Soviet trade agreement. The Soviets also have twice forced the Italians to rewrite a fixed-price compensation contract for natural gas. The latest prevision occurred last November after the Soviets threatened to cut off supplies.

The Italians are eager to correct the trade imbalance with Moscow through increased sales. Italy sees the USSR, like the Middle East, as an area where Italian equipment does not compete at a technological disadvantage. Italian politicians also hold trade initiatives with Moscow in high regard for their propaganda value. Top-level intervention often has pushed through trade deals over the objections of state corporation managers who felt that the agreements were not commercially advantageous to Italy

Nonenergy imports from the Soviet Union—chiefly wood, steel, and chemicals—could be purchased by the Italians from alternative sources. Most Soviet chemical imports, however, result from compensation agreements:

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Italian exports to the USSR consist mostly of machinery and equipment under major contracts to supply complete manufacturing plants and large-diameter pipe. Rome fears that 1980 will be even more unfavorable than 1979 for exports to the USSR, which are declining to real terms. Deliveries for most major Italiza projects in the Soviet Union will be completed by the end of this year and few new agreements are being accordated. Italian efforts to gain participation in Soviet offshore oil drilling activities have been fruitless. A Montedison bid for a \$2 billion coutract to build a petrochemical plant will not be considered by the Soviets until the details of their new five-year plan are settled; the Italians are pessimistic about their chances of winning the contract. The Italian state steel company, FINSIDER, faces stiff German competition in a proposed \$200 million deal to construct an electric steel plant.

Rome is pinning much hope for increasing exports to the USSR on a new trade agreement signed last fall. The accord grants the Sovieta \$650 million in credits, but terms have yet to be set. The trade agreement also calls for specific projects in the engineering, energy, chemical, and petrochemical fields.)

A possible deal discussed during the negotiations would involve Italy's supplying nuclear components to the Soviet Union in return for the electricity produced by Soviet nuclear plants. Italian energy officials have, however, expressed reservations about the technical feasibility of importing electricity from the USSR. According to press reports, an Italian state-owned firm, Terni, just last week signed an unrelated contract to supply components for nuclear power plants to the USSR.

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Other COCOM Countries

The Benelux Countries

Belgium and Luxembourg have condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a threat to peace, but neither would be likely to initiate any action of its own. They would follow West German and French leads, particularly in an EC context. The Hague is being very deliberate in its response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and is currently reviewing its options!

The relative case of incorporating a company in Belgium has made that country a major center of operations for Soviet export-import firms, Typically, joint Soviet-Belgian trading firms market Soviet raw materials in exchange for West European industrial goods. NAFTA-B, perhaps the largest of the joint Soviet-Belgian firms, handles all Soviet oil sales in Belgium and reexports to third countries such as Switzerland. In 1978, 3 percent (\$145 million) of Belgian oil imports came from the Soviet Union; of this amount, about two-thirds was reexported. Besides oil, only diamonds are an important Soviet export to Belgium. One fifth of Soviet diamond exports to the OECD countries are sold to Belgium, most to be brokered on the Antwerp diamond exchange. The value of Soviet diamond exports to Belgium in 1978. \$165 million, exceeded that of crude oil and oil products. Manufactures constitute about 90 percent of Belgian sales to the Soviets, about 60 percent of these consisting of semilinished steel products!

Trade with the Soviet Union accounts for about I percent of total Dutch trade. Dutch sales to the USSR, only 0.4 percent of total Dutch exports, consist mainly of chemicals, machinery, and remifinished manufactures. Petroleum products account for more than one-half of Dutch imports from the Soviet Union. However, a significant share of Soviet petroleum products are resold on the Rotterdam spot market.

Denmark

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Copenhagen views the situation in Afghanistan with great seriousness and takes exception to the Soviet intervention. Although the government presently has

no plans to implement sanctions. Denmark is withdrawing a \$9.5 m-ilion loan to Afghanistan. The Danes will avoid any increase in grain exports to the USSR and will try to ensure that future grain exports are not reexported to the Soviet Union.

Although overall trade between Denmark and the Soviet Union is small, Denmark's growing dependence on Soviet oil would provide Moscow considerable leverage in retaliation against any sanctions imposed by Copenhagea. Danish exports to the USSR amounted to \$87 million, 0.8 percent of total exports, in the first nine months of 1979, up sharply from the same period a year earlier. Machinery accounts for nearly 70 percent of total exports to the Soviet Union. Danish imports from the USSR amounted to \$318 million, about 2.4 percent of total imports, and consist primarily of oil and petroleum products. Danish dependence on Soviet oil has increased rapidly in recent years—Soviet oil accounted for 5.7 percent of total Danish oil imports in 1975 and 14 percent last year

Greece

Except for cultural ties, Soviet-Greek relations traditionally have been cool. Over the past year or so, however, Athens made an effort to improve relations with the Soviet Union, primarily in response to a perceived warming in Soviet relations with the West in general. Athens has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, supports US countermeasures, and plans some minor actions of its own in the diplomatic area. Economic sanctions are still under study

Greece receives about 3 percent of its total imports from the Soviet Union, with crude oil and petroleum products accounting for the bulk of purchases (86 percent in 1978). The USSR currently supplies Greece with 18,000 b/d of crude oil per year, approximately 10 percent of Greece's total oil imports, and Athens has requested a doubling of this amount. The Greeks export a variety of goods to the USSR—principally agricultural products (citrus, grapes, and tobacco) and bauxite.

The Soviet-Greek cooperation agreement signed in 1978 provides for Soviet financing of an alumina plant in Greece. The USSR also plans to supply the electric power to the plant as well as purchase a portion of the output. The two countries have been discussing possible supply of Soviet electric power through the Yugoslav grid and future supply of natural gas to Greece using a pipeline through Bulgaria. The Soviets reportedly are prepared to fund construction of the pipeline in exchange for additional Greek agricultural products.

Names

Although we have only limited reporting on Norwegian reactions to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, we expect the Norwegians will generally support US initiatives. Whether the Norwegians actively cooperate in these initiatives, however, remains to be seen. If political relations with the Soviet Union deteriorate. the Norwegian economy would be little affected. Imports from and exports to the Soviet Union account for less than 1 percent of Norwegian foreign trade. Oil products make up almost 80 percent of all imports of Soviet goods but amount to only about 2 percent of Norwegian oil consumption. Although Norway produces more oil than it consumes, its refineries cannot process enough crude oil to meet domestic demand. Moreover, most domestically produced crude oil is piped directly from the North Sea fields to the United Kingdom. Norway would have little trouble replacing Soviet oil, which is only about 3,000 b/d. Soviet purchases from Norway consist mainly of paper and paper products, special machinery, and inorganic chemicals.

Persugal

The newly installed government of Francisco Sa Carneiro recalled its Ambassador from Moscow for consultations following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Sa Carneiro distrusts the Soviets and almost certainly will support US countermeasures; he is unlikely to initiate any measures of his own.

Economic ties between Portugal and the Soviet Union expanded rapidly after diplomatic ties were established in the wake of the 1974 revolution. Portuguese exports to the Soviet Union leaped from less than \$1 million in

1973 to a high of \$54 million in 1976; imports posted even greater gains, jumping from \$25,000 in 1973 to \$125 million in 1977. Fresh regetables account for one-half of Portuguese exports; textiles and wine make up the remainder. Mere than \$5 percent of Portuguese imports from the Soviet Union are crude oil; Soviet supplies of 15,000 b/d account for about 15 percent of Portuguese oil imports. The Soviet fishing fleet has used Portuguese shippards for repairs and has purchased at least six fishing boats from Portugal

Turker

With the Turks counting on the USSR for economic aid and a major portion of their oil needs. Ankara will attempt to do nothing that would worsen its relations with the USSR. The USSR is Turkey's largest aid donor and one of the largest non-Communist recipients of Soviet economic aid

Turkey concluded a 10-year framework agreement with the Soviet Union in 1975 calling for \$600-700 million in Soviet financial assessment to finance steel, aluminum, and thermal power plants. In 1977 the aid commitment was raised to \$1.2 billion when the Soviets agreed to finance a seel plant and ac oil refinery. (The steel plant, at sendercen, is one of the Soviets' largest overseas aid ccts.) As Turkey's forcien exchange situation w aned and Western lenders dried up, Turkish lenders continued to seek more funds; in 1979, they six I a three-year agreeni noillim 0882 suod a ment with the USSR, includo agreed to supply Soviet aid. The Soviet Unior about 25 percent of Turkey ide oil imports during 1979-81, up from around 10 cent previously. self additional supplies. Besides oil, the USSR agreer of iron and steel, fertilizers. on emicals, and coke in exchange for Turkish wheat. Her agricultural products, wolfram, and consumer goods. Several other kinds of economic cooperation also were planned, including Soviet technical and financial assistance in oil exploration

The agreement recently has encountered serious problems. Moscow is refusing to supply the additional oil agreed to because Turkey has failed to deliver wheat as scheduled. Foreign exchange shortages, which limit Turkey's ability to import raw materials and other industrial inputs, have cut into domestic farm and industrial output.

Septe

Other Developed Countries

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Ameria

Austria is unlikely to participate in any actions against the USSR because of its position as a neutral country and its heavy economic dependence on the Soviet Union. Almost 30 percent of Austrian oil and natural gas consumption is covered by purchases from the Soviet Union, which in turn account for about 70 percent of Austria's total imports from the USSR. On the export side, the Soviet Union purchases about 17 percent of Austrian exports. Most of these sales consist of sheet steel, ships, and machinery and equipment

Flatand

Finland's geographic location and major economic ties with the Soviet Union preclude strong reactions to the Soviet action in Afghanistan. During the 1970s a dramatic shift occurred in Finland's economic orientation—away from the West and toward the Soviet Union, which now accounts for 20 percent of Finnish trade. The underlying causes of this shift were the surge in world oil prices with a corresponding rise in the value of Soviet energy exports; the balancing requirements of Finnish-Soviet tratle, which is conducted under barter-clearing arrangements; and the economic recession in the West. Economic dependence heightens Finland's political/strategic vulnerability to the USSR, although the Soviets also benefit from this window to the West.

The Soviet Union currently supplies almost 70 percent of Finland's total energy imports and 50 percent of domestic energy requirements. The Soviets built two of Finland's four nuclear reactors, supply their fuel, and accept their irradiated waste. In payment for Soviet imports, Finland exports about one-tenth of its industrial product to the USSR. The Soviets absorb about

one-half of Finnish ship production and one-third of the output of Finnish engineering industries, providing stability to these recession-prone sectors. The Finns also are involved in several construction projects in the Soviet Union.

feetand

iceiand imports ali its oil from Moscow, which charges spot prices on these sales. The surge in spot prices has pushed the Iceianders into a frantic search for a new supply source. Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom reportedly may agree to sell crude oil to Iceiand, which the Iceianders would then have refined in Europe. Iceiandic sales of fish to the USSR presumably would continue because they benefit both particles.

Ireland

Oil is the major component in Irish-Soviet trade, accounting for three-fourths of Ireland's purchases from the USSR. In 1978, 6 percent of Ireland's oil imports came from the Soviet Union. Dependence rose to nearly 8 percent in the first six months of 1979. The state-owned Irish National Oil Corporation (INPC) was founded last year to obtain oil contracts directly with exporting countries. Thus far, the company has secured only one contract—for delivery of 10,000 b/d of Iraqi crude. However, if the Soviets cut off their supplies, INPC has laid the groundwork to negotiate for other supplies

Other than oil, no clear trends in Irish-Soviet trade have emerged, and trade either way accounts for less than I percent of total Irish foreign trade. In spite of a 1976 economic cooperation agreement, Irish firms appear reluctant to push into Soviet trarkets, citing unfamiliar structures and lack of knowledge. On the other hand, the Soviets are eager to expand in the Irish market. Moscow has been pushing Dublin to allow an increase in the number of Soviet trade representatives—described by Moscow as independent businessmen—in Ireland; thus far, Dublin has refused

Sected

Spala

Despite 'he reestablishment of relations only in 1977, Spanish-Soviet trade grew rapidly in the 1970s. Spanish imports rose from \$10 million in 1970, to a peak of \$165 million in 1975, and dropped to \$110 million in 1978. More than one-half of Spanish imports from the Soviet Union consist of crude oil, coal, and petroleum products; these purchases, however, account for only 1 percent of Spain's energy imports. Sales to the Soviets have grown steadily from \$6 million in 1970 to \$145 million in 1978. About one-third of Spanish exports consist of relied-steel structural forms, and one-half is made up of other semifinished metal products.

The activities of joint Sovict-Spanish companies, involved mostly in fishing, shipping, and the lumber trade, have proven profitable to the Spanish. Sovikspan, a joint fishing company, pays \$-0 million per year for the use of port facilities at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, which is the most important base for the Soviet Atlantic fishing fleet outside the Soviet Union.

Although Madrid bopes to expand economic relations with Moscow, the Spanish have no illusions about the Soviets ever becoming a major trading partner. The center-right government of Prime Minister Suarez distrusts the Soviet Union—several Soviet diplomats have been expelled assipies during recent years—and would be inclined to support US sanctions.

Sweden

Sweden has not developed an extensive trade relationship with the USSR. In 1978 the USSR provided less than 3 percent of Sweden's imports and took only I percent of its exports. The Soviets have provided 15 percent of Swedish oil supplies but no other commodity stands out as being particularly important. While staunchly rejecting any outside control over exports of purely Swedish products, Stockholm generally has accepted controls over exports that embody high technology originating in COCOM countries. During a 1978 flap over the possible sale of a sophisticated Swedish machine tool to the USSR, Swedish officials hinted that if left alone Swedish firms probably would go along with US guidelines on an unofficial basis. The reason given was that high-technology products with no US components are rare and Swedish firms are unlikely to risk their sources of components or their markets in the United States.

Other Countries

Other smaller developed countries generally have condemned Soviet intervention but are awaiting coordinated decisions or actions by the major allies before saying much about sanctions. For practically all these courries, trade with the Soviet Union has expanded rapidly but accounts for only 1 to 2 percent of total trade. Soviet energy products, particularly oil, are the major source of concern. Although the amounts in each case are small, a Soviet cutoff of energy would put pressure on supplies and cause a scramble for alternative sources.

Soriet Response to Economic Sunctions

At least initially, the USSR is unlikely to institute economic reprisals against those Western countries implementing economic sanctions against it. The Soviet leadership is well aware of the importance of continued access to Western technology, equipment, and grain to Soviet economic development; perceived short-term benefits of economic retaliation will likely be judged insufficient to risk the economic costs which would result from a sustained cutoff in trade by the West. Indeed, at first the USSR may feign indifference to Western action by maintaining a "business as usual" posture. This action would be consistent with traditional Soviet claims that economics should be divorced from politics and that the USSR is a dependable source of supply to the West

the USSR has adopted a business as usual posture for the time being at least.

the chairman of the USSR's Amtorg trading corporation stated that there would be no changes in contracts in effect for the sale of Soviet equipment and technology to the United States.

Soviet reaction will ultimately be influenced by the degree of unanimity among major Western trading partners. Should West Germany, Canada, and the United Kingdom join the United States in imposing economic sanctions while France, Italy, and Japan abstain, the Soviet reaction will probably be one of

emphasizing the economic gain to those who followed the latter course of action. Moscow may become more accommodating in order to bring negotiations on major deals to fruition and thus demonstrate by example that constries participating in economic sanctions will lose contracts to those who do not. They may also "reward" nonparticipants with contracts for additional oil, natural gas, or other commodities in short supply worldwide. Moscow will also probably restrain its normal inclination to extract the best deal possible in accoliating with Western governments and firms in order to avoid the attendant publicity regarding the cost of doing business with the USSR. Countries siding with the United States may find the Soviets taking a hard line when renewing contracts for such commodities or in other economic negotiations

It is highly unlikely that the USSR will take punitive action involving the abrogation of existing contracts. To do so, even temporarily, would substantiate long held Western fears about doing business with the USSR. Terminating deliveries of natural gas, timber, coal, and chemicals guaranteed under compensation agreements would likely preclude for an extended period Soviet ability to obtain Western participation in future resource development projects on the compensation basis the Sovieta favor. Similarly, Soviet default on credit obligations would preclude future Western lending, particularly from private Western banks which hold the major share of Soviet debt.

Statistical Appendix

UNITED STATES: Trade with USSB, 1978 (Billion U.S. 8)

	Exports	, u		laports	laports		
Cossodity	To	TOUSSE	USSR Share (%)	frem frem	\$ t c t	[2 2 8	
FCCDSTURES RAW HAIRBIALS FUELS HANDPACTURES CIBER	28709 10765 3980 95730 4476	1679 70 31 471	5-8 0-7 0-8 0-5 0-0	16287 13491 42018 95897 5595	7 118 44 69 303	C.0 C.9 C.1 C.1	
TOTAL TRACE	143660	2252	1.6	173290	540	(.)	

US Exports of which Significant Stare Gree Tr U.S.S.F (Banked by USSE Share)
Exports

Corrodity	gerld To	Te USSE	USSB Shere(%)		
CC18	5302	1056	19.5		
REST	4335	326	E.;		
HISC CORSULTR	749	39	5.3		
MCMFERRODS ORES	911	37	9. 1		
SCIEILIS	5868	216	3. 7		
PETECLEUS PECTUCT	550	19	3.4		
TRACTORS	1331	28	2.1		
METALBORKING MACRIMENT	1245	26	2- 1		
RIECTRICAL MEASURING EC	2237	40	1. 6		
LEATHER.	318	\$	1.7		

US Imports of which Significant Share Comes From U.S.S.B (Fanked by USSR Share)
Injects

		~~~~	
Cossedity	actiq Econ	FECE USSE	USSB Share (%)
HILLS	247	9	3.7
#CPEEBCO2 CBES	1376	36	2.8
ECREER MAKUFACTURES	478	7	1.4
CERRICAL ELEBERTS	4182	33	3.0
DIAMCECS	2224	16	9.7
BEIBCLEUM BECTUCT	7432	40	C. S
OILER CREMICAL	544	2	C. 4
ELASS	1051	š	0.3
CERCE HIREBIL	620	ž	0.3
BEVERAGES	1768	•	ü. ž

### JEELE: Trade with USSE, 1978 (Billion U.S. \$)

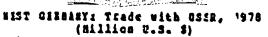
	Exports			Isporta	Importa		
Cossodity	To Borld	To USSR	USSE Share (%)	trom World	FICE	4223 (R) > 3 & 42	
FCCESTOFFS	1167	2	0.1	13250	79	0.6	
ELE BATEBILLS	1366	15	1.1	15974	1016	6.4	
<b>POPLS</b>	261	16	6.3	31336	207	C.7	
# AND FACTOR ES	93848	2427	2.6	16782	24	C. 5	
CIRER	8 59	42	4.8	1390	21	1.5	
			*****				
TOTAL TRACE	97501	2502	2.6	78731	1409	1.8	

### Japanece Exports of which Significant Share Goes To U.S.S.F (Sanked by USSR Share) Exports

Commodity	To Weeld	70 <b>3</b> 220	055# Share(%)		
FORES	1068	169	15. 6		
BACBIKE SARTS	1006	135	13.4		
NORFERROUS CRES	15	2	13.4		
BELT/COOL ECDIPHENT	1334	175	13.1		
PETECLEUR PROLUCT	18Q	. 16	9.1		
ELITINGRING SYCRIPABL	1265	<b>ES</b>	6.7		
STEEL	11790	726	€.2		
PLASTICS	1417	84	5. 9		
CICIBING	486	29	5.9		
SCCIRITY .	64	4	5.6		

## Jaranese Imports of which Significant Share Coses Free U.S.S.F (Fanked by USSR Share) t Imports

Correctity	Actiq Actiq	DSSB .	USSR Share(%)
URRECUGNT MCHIERROUS	935	157	16.8
CCIICH	1068	150	14.0
RRABORERI YTCHIRAN	793	110	13.8
AGGE	4154	528	12.7
FEFILLIZES	146	15	10.4
JERELBY	312	22	7.1
CONT	3084	133	4.3
PLIEOGD	643	18	2.8
SILES	450	11	2. 3
HEAT	1349	31	2.3



	Extorte			Importa	Importa			
Cossodity	To World	TO - 8220	USSR Share (%)	Frem Norld	FECT USSF	\$ 2 3 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5		
FCCISTUFFS BAR HATEFIALS FUELS MANUFACTURES CAMES	6912 3878 4509 124047 2743	15 13 11 3065 37	0.2 0.3 0.2 2.5 1.4	18368 11056 19538 68684 3021	31 321 764 487 866	C.2 2.9 4.0 C.7 28.7		
IDEAL TRACE	142050	3141	2.2	12 (668	2489	2.1		

West German Exports of which Significant Share Goes To U.S.S.F (fanked by USSR Share)
Exports

	priores		
Cossodity	To	To USSB	USSR Share (%)
BETAIRCERING BACHINERY	267C 8762	387 1012	14.5
TRAIKS	352	25	7.2
POWER GEN EQUIPMENT	1452	82	5.7
CIBER INCOSTRIAL MACE	8717	461	<u>.</u>
PERFUNES	750	39	
BEHI/COCT ECOIDARMI	1429	64	4.4
	2265	91	4.6
ELECTRICAL AFFARATUS	34CS	118	3. S
FGBK LIFT TEUCKS	1657	50	
	~~~~~~	****	

West German Imports of which Significant Share Comes From U.S.S.F. (Banked by USSR Share)

. Imports

Commodity	FECE FCE	From USSR	USSF Stere(%)			
COTTON	359	55	16.6			
CIARONDS	475	77	16-2			
PETRCLEUB PECCUCT	611C	775	12.7			
CHERICAL ILIBIATS	3657	339	\$.3			
300E	1274	£2	6.4			
Bides	471	24	S- 2			
SPRECERT RCRIERRORS	879	44	5. C			
CRUCE MIRERAIS	756	29	3.6			
PULP	774	26	3.3			
NAMBORCHI VICTIER	474	9	3- C			

FRANCE: Trade with USSE, 1978 (Million U.S. \$)

	Ixports			Impacts		
Commodity	io	1c	0558	trom	free	USSB
	Forld	0531	Share (%)	Werld	USS!	Stare (%)
FOOLSTORES	11896	48	0.4	11500	4C	C.4
RAW MATERIALS	3734	11	0.3	6532	210	2.8
FUELS	2047	3	0.1	15937	606	3.8
MANUFACTURES	56488	1392	2.4	47453	129	C.7
TCTAL TRACE	76494	1455	0.6	81865	C 1225	C.1

Exemple Execute of which dignificant Share Goes to U.S.S.R [Ranked by USSR Share] Execute

Consodity	ic Werld	To USSR	USSF Stare (%)
		~~~~	
BEAT/COCL ECUIPMENT	845	126	15.1
MEJYFAGBRIRE RYCHITELA	477	43	2.8
BACRINE FARTS	825	61	7.4
<b>505</b> £2	386	73	7-4
CERNICAL ELEBERTS	3776	245	<b>6.</b> 9
BOCKS, MAGAZINES	602	35	5.8
CTEFF INCOSTRIAL BACE	1646	100	5.4
STEEL	4862	251	<u> </u>
ELECTRICAL APPARATUS	915	41	4.5
DE STEUZAR LADIETOS EQ	456	20	4.4

## French Imports of which Significant Share Comes From C.S.S.F (Banked by QSSB Share) Taports

Cossodity	ROEJG EECH	From USSR	State(%)	
COLIOR	321	58	30.8	
PITROLIUM PEGLUCT	1195	213	17-8	
RCCE	681	64	9- 3	
DRFECAGAL WINSTERS	346	32	5.2	
CERRICAL FLENERIS	3021	247	£.2	
CCT	1346	56	4. 2	
PULE	525	19	3.6	
CFULE FETFOLEUM	12058	326	2.7	
FISH	812	22	i.;	
CRUDE MINERALS	545	14	2.5	

Societ

# ONITED RINGDOM: Trade with USSE, 1978 (Hillion 8.5. \$)

-	Exports		1708 6+3+ \$1	Importa		
Cossedity	To World	10 0351	USSI Share (%)	From World	Eroz 755£	\$253 \$201€ (%)
POOLSTUFFS RAW MATERIALS FUELS MARUFACTURES OTHER	3709 2816 4497 51658 6742	53 98 6 649 7	G.9 3.4 0.1 1.3 G.1	12806 6991 9220 43623 5584	11 284 51: 129 365	(-1 4-1 5-5 (-3 6-9
TOTAL TRACE	71483	. 812	1.1	78425	1320	1.7

## OR Exports of which Significant Share Goes to U.S.S.B (Danked by USSE Share) Exports

	Friotis	<del></del>	
Connodity	10 World	To OSIR	USS? State(%)
PCEER GEN EQTIPHENT OTFER CEREALS UBASCUGHT NCHEERCUS FILBES TARK	556 337 770 578 667	64 30 64 28	11.6 8.6 8.5 1.5
CEINICAL FLIMENTS FURES SRIES FISE BEAT/COOL RQUIPMENT	2637 988 731 277 492	127 39 25 3 15	4. 2 2. 5 3. 1 3. C

# OK Imports of which Significant Share Comes From C.S.S.F (Banked by USSE Share) Tagorts

Commodity	Pice Norld	From	USSE Shara(X)
CCIION	186	36	16.4
ACCE	1152	185	16.1
PETEGLEUE PECLUCT	1874	. 239	12.7
RICES	376	36	9.6
Difector	4683	385	£.2
COTF	170	3,3	5.3
CEUEE FETEOLIUE	6768	263	3.3
ISCR CRE	335	11	
PLINCED	734	20	3.4
FIG 180%	205	3 C	2.7 2.6
~~			

ITALT: Trade with USSE, 1978 (Million U.S. S)

	Exectt			/stct44		
Connectity	To World	10	1220 (X) 92662	from Ecrld	\$208 \$320	055# Stece (%)
FOOTSTUFFS RAS MATERIALS FUELS MANUFACTURES GILLS	3876 978 3295 47633 267	53 3 5 1072 0	0.3 0.2 2.3 0.0	5647 7525 13346 24366 251	14 215 1218 67 C	C-1 2-9 5-1 C-4 C-1
ICIAI TRACE	56048	1133	2.0	55115	1535	2.8

## Italian Executa of which Significant Share Goes to U.S.S.R (Banked by USSE Share) Exports

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *				
Cateodity	ic #ctld	To USSB	922F Sbare (%)	
		*****		
BICE	213	43	20.1	
METALWORKING MACHINERY	676	61	11-5	
HACEINE PARTS	863	90	11.2	
STEEL	3151	311	9. 5	
LEATHER	564	\$3	9-4	
ELECTRICAL MEASURING EQ	123	10	£.2	
PURPS	766	53	7-6	
ELECTRICAL BELICAL EC	54	4	7. 5	
BEAT/CCCL ECUIPMENT	772	53	€.€	
PCHIR GEN EQUIPMENT	265	15	\$. È	

### Italian Imports of which Significant Share Comes From U.S.S.F (Fanked by USSR Share) Tagorte

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~				
Controlity	actiq Eton	ELCD 0225	0558 Share (7)	
GAS FIFC	65 C	312	47-5	
PETBCIEUR PECTUCT	1154	174	15.1	
COLION	375	33	£.7	
ROCE	1193	94	7.5	
CCAL	754	\$5	7.3	
CERCE PETROLIUM	10787	677	6.3	
IRCH CRE	941	49	5.3	
FERTILIZER	15.	9	4. 5	
MCAFEBR BINUFICTURES	77	3	3.7	
BIINCCD	127	5	3-€	

CANACA: Trade with USSR, 1978

	Exports			Imports		
Cossodity	To Borld	To USSR	USSR Share (%)	fres forld	71C1 722U	7227 (%) 91412
PCCLSTUFFS RAW BATTEFIALS FUILS RAWFACTURES CTHEF	5038 10170 4615 23829 227	289 30 0 160	5.7 0.3 0.0 0.7 0.1	3381 1775 3770 32268 503	0 1 C 24	C.0 C.0 C.1 C.2
TOTAL TRACE	030#	478	1.1	41657	26	C.1

Canadian Exports of which Significant Share Goes To U.S.S.F (Banked by USSR Share)

	Friory			
Consodity	To World	TC USSR	. 025R Shace (%)	
CCFR	43	18	41.2	
PUBES	42	9	20.3	
WEIAT	1612	252	15.6	
CERRICAL ELEMENTS	1 087	86	7-5	
YAFA	29	1	3~ 8	
CTREE CEREALS	492	19	3.8	
HACPIKE PARTS	142	5	3.6	
PONER GEN EQUIPMENT	404	12	3- C	
MCKFEERCUS CRES	1307	25	1.9	
TRUCES	2481	32	1,3	

Canadian Imports of which Significant Share Comes From U.S.S.F (Banked by USSR Share) Tarorts

TEFCLIE			
#ctlq Ecom	FECE	USSR Share (%)	
121	9	7.2	
108	2	1.6	
123	1	C-E	
500	4	0- E	
81	0	6- 2	
77	G	C.4	
265	1	C.3	
177	1	0-3	
402	1	0-3	
111	Q	C-3	
	121 108 123 500 81 77 265 177 402	From From World USSR 121 9 108 2 123 1 500 4 81 0 77 0 265 1 177 1 402 1	

BELGIUM/LUXEMBOURG: Trade with USSR, 1978 (Million US \$)

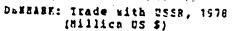
		(444	. AAGH GJ #;				
	Exects	Executa			legorte		
Considity	To World	1c USSB	0535 Share (%)	rorld.	ZEOD JSSE	0555 Stare(X)	
PCCCSIUFFS RIV BATIRIALS FULLS BANUFACTUFES CIBEF	4277 2259 1912 31988 4355	8 5 2 314 21	0.2 0.2 0.1 1.0 0.5	6159 4275 5986 28254 3553	8 75 159 58 169	C.1 1.8 2.7 C.2 4.8	
TOTAL TRACE	44793	350	0.8	48268	469	1.0	

EELGIUM Exports of which Significant Share Goes To USSR (Banked by USSR Share) Exports

Costodity	To World	TC USSR	USSR Share(T)	
FORES	239	21	e.e	
STEEL	4849	153	4.0	
OTER CEREALS	167	5	3.0	
OTER CERTICIES	579	14	2.5	
TAFE	567	11	1.5	
HEAT/CCCL ECDIPHENT	241	4	1.6	
HINE TOOLS	103	ž	1.6	
GOODS MES	1596	21	1.3	
CIEFE INCUSTRIAL MACE	478	Š	1.0	
CHENICAL PLEBERTS	2030	21	1.0	

PRIGIUM Imports of which Significant Stare Comes From USSS (Banked by USSR Share)

	Isjosts		
Corredity	ACEJQ ELOB	FICE USSE	USSE Shere(%)
CCTICE	61	11	18- 1
RCCD	479	43	2.3
PERBOLEUS PRODUCTS	1146	23	7.7
FERTILIZER	222	13	\$. ē
DIRECRES	2925	165	5.€
FIG IFCE	106	Š	4.5
MCMFERROUS MANUFACTURES	91	Ĭ	4.0
CRUTE PETROLEUM	3173	57	1.8
FISH	279	Š	1.6
CCFI	791	13	1.6



	Exports	1022	1111 03 37	Injects		
Commodity	To World	10 USSE	025F Share(%)	Prom Rorld	fror USSF	022F Stare(%)
FOOLSTUFFS RAW MATERIALS FUELS MARUFACTUR'S CIHER	4203 701 298 6442 32	9 1 0 51	0.2 0.1 0.0 0.8 0.6	1845 821 2303 9720 67	\$ 12 261 25 0	C.2 1.5 11.3 C.3
TCTAL TRACE	11676	61	C-5	14777	302	2.0

CARISE Executs of which Significant Share Goes Ic USSR | Banked by USSR Share) | Exports

~ « « » » « « » « « « « « «				
Commodity	Korld	To USSR	USSF Stare(%)	
ELECTRICAL BEASURING EC	133	8	5.5	
SHIPS	287	15	5.7	
BEAT/CCCL ECUIPMENT	229	11	5. C	
FAEFICS	77	· ;	3.1	
CAR INGINES	113	2	1.8	
OTEER CEREALS	189	3	1.3	
ERCECGEAERS	42	ĭ	i. E	
FIEFES	8	C	1.4	
SCIFKIIFIC INSTRUMENTS	91	i	1.1	
ELECTRICAL MEDICAL EC	32	a	1_ C	

CAMISH Imports of which Significant Share Cores Iron USSE (Ranked by USSE Share)

	Imports			
Cosmodity	Prcs World	From USSR	Spate(X)	
CRULE PETROLEUM	782	151	15.3	
PEIROLEUR PRODUCTS	1231	110	8.5	
FIG IFCE	15	1	9.0	
RCCD	253	10	1.9	
IRCH CRE	24	`1	2.3	
FISE	216	, i	1-7	
FALFICS	216		1.6	
CAFS	481	Ř	1.6	
CRUDE MINERALS	78	ì	1.2	
LEATHER	68	i	0.5	
~	- -	•	3.3	

Sected

GREECE: Trade with CSSF, 1978 (Million QS \$)

*****	Executs (allies vs s)			Tegozta		
Conscity	To World	10 053\$	0338 Share (%)	irca icrid	TEGE USSF	CSSB Stere (%)
FOGISTUTES RAW HATTRIALS FUELS HANDFACTURES CIEER	1059 425 321 1527 4	70 10 1 15 0	6.3 2.4 0.2 1.0 C.0	696 525 1429 5C1	3 13 228 20	(.4 i.6 16.0 C.4 6.5
TOTAL TRACE	3375	95	2.6	7655	264	:.5

GREEK Experts of which Significant Share Goes To test (Banked by 0525 Share) Experts

Commodity	Te Ecrld	TOUSSE	USSF State(%)	
MCKFFERCUS ORIS	58	10	17.2	
TOEACCO	214	32	15. C	
FROIT	445	32	7.3	
BETEFAGES	2.8	3	6.8	
HEAT	240	11	4.4	
CERRICAL FLEBERIS	45	2	4.3	
ECCRS	•	õ	2. 8	
CIBER CEBEALS	2.2	ĭ		
CRUCE MATERIAL MES	12	ċ	2.1	
LEATEER	74	i	1- 8	

GBEEK Imports of which Significant Share Coses (cos 7555 (Fanked by USSE Share)

-	Ingerta			
Correctity	From	\$2C# \$22U	USSR Share(1)	
JEGELEY	*	******		
CFUEE FETFCLEUM	1104		21.3	
	1180	210	17.8	
sie imom	7	1	16.0	
RCCE .	112	11	16.1	
TELNSISTOFS	12	1	8.4	
CCAI	23	ò	6.1	
FIREARMS	3	è	7.3	
PETROLEUR PRODUCTS	224	16	7.3	
FISE	45	10		
-	. •	2	5.3	
1FACTCRS	61	1	2-3	

BETEIBLANDS: feede with ELER, 1978 (Million OS 8)

	Exporte	, La .		Isports		
Cossodity	To World	70 0551	0552 Share (%)	ires Sorld	71C1 0338	(25 8 26454 (3)
ECCESTORES -	1 1199	26	0.2	8520	12	C.1
SAR BATEFIALS	3113	46	1.5	2978	£7	2.2
£0213	6023	2	0.0	8253	338	4.1
E SED SACTOR ES	26959	136	0.5	31853	61	C. 2
CIBER	857	1	0_1	1438	56	4-0
		-			~~~~	
TCTAL TRACE	50149	210	0.4	53041	:1:	1_0

BETBEBLIFES Exports of which Significant Share Goes To USSP (Fanked by USSR Share) Exports

Consedity	ictld.	TC	USSE Share (%)		
HILES	170	35	20-3		
ECHIP CIL ECUIPMENT	123	14	11.7		
METALBORRING BACKISEST	72		e.i		
OTHER CEREALS	141	6	4.1		
FFBFURES	332	11	3. 4		
TERTILE MACRIMENT	131	3	i.6		
CRULE RUEBER	195	5	2.5		
ELECTRICAL BEASURIEG EQ	210	Š	. 2.3		
STEEL	1651	22	1.3		
OREECOCHI RCESEESCOS	163	2	1.1		

FITHERLARDS Imports of which Significant State Cones Fice USSF (Runked by USSR Share)

<u> </u>	Istorts		
Cossadity	acriq acrid	. Free USSF	USSE Share (%)
CCTICE	45	9	19-5
PETEGLEUM PECCUCTS	166C	324	15.5
UMERCUGHT COPPER	33	7	17.5
DIAMONDS	593	\$6	9.4
ACCE	712	32	4.6
INCH CRE	124	Ş	4.2
PERTILIZER	97		4.2
PULP	230	6	2.6
FISB	239	5	3-5
CHERICAL PLEBRATS	1814	24	1.3

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ROBBLE: Trade with OSSS, 1978 (Billion US \$)

Exports Inscrte To 19 USSR From Ecrld FEGS 0552 Ccasodity Horld **935** Share (%) USSE Share (%) 24 TETE 1901 **\$18** 0.1 921 **C-3** 3 RATERIALS 1812 605 1353 0.0 4 0.6 2058 5187 11 FUELS 0-2 £3 6.1 BARUFACTURES 82 8524 12 C.1 CIESE 0 0.5 32 C C.0 STARE INFOR 10027 23 0.9 11435 102 G.9

MORRIGIAN Exports of which Significant Share Goes To USSE (Banked by USSE Share) Exports

*************	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
Commodity	To World	To	USSE State(%)		
Vigitables	1	C	23.7		
OTER INDUSTRIAL HACK	155	35	22.4		
FAEFICS	26	3	10.4		
CHIBICAL ELEBIRTS	210	12	2.5		
PAP 18	433	22	5.1		
ELECTRICAL HEASURING EQ	20	ī	4.5		
LEATRES	20	1	4.6		
eccis siz	1	Č	4.5		
PAINIS	42	ì	2.8		
COMPUTERS	32	1	2.5		

BORNIGIAN Injerts of which Significant Share Cores Stor USSF (Banked by USSR Share)

į	Importa			
Commodity	From From	Proe USSE	USSE Share(%)	
IRCH ORE	3	1	24.3	
CRUDE PETROLEUM	825	68	6.3	
FISE	27	2	8.0	
REPRESENT AMBROGRAN	11	ī	7.8	
ers' iffcibicity	61	j	2.9	
CROSE RUZZER	11	ĭ	4.6	
FEFTILIZES	25	i	4.1	
BICES	8	è	3.8	
PETROLEUE PECUUCIS	384	12	3.1	
C0110E		Ö	2.0	

Speriet

ð

PORTEGAL: Trade with USSS, 1978 (Million US 8)

	ligorta			Ingette	Injects		
Ccascdity	To Forld	10 0333	1888 1841 (A)	Econ Scrld	From	\$\$20 \$\$20 \$\$20	
FOOLSTUIES BAN HATEBIALS FOELS BANDFACTURES OTHER	264 274 42 1657 91	27 1 0 12 0	7.5 0.3 0.0 C.7	849 497 816 2933 47	6 5 62 3	C.7 1.0 1C.0 C.1	
ICIAI TRACE	2429	40	1.7	5142	95	1.9	

PORTUGUES I Emports of which Significant Share fore to USSR [Ranked by USSR Share] Exports

Te World	To ESSR	OSSF Share(%)
66	:1	31.5
č		
3		24.3
•	1	7.4
63	•	5.6
10	1	5.3
Rh	į	
	7	3.4
17	· ·	3- S
16	C	1.5
163	3	1.7
156	3	1.7
	80rld 5 9 63 10 84 17 18	#0:14 #35R 66 21 5 1 9 1 63 4 10 1 84 3 17 0 18 0 163 3

PORTEGUESE Imports of which Significant Share Cores From 855F (Banked by 855R Share)

	Infects				
Commodity	Free Forld	6225 520#	USS: State(I)		
CERTE PETROLEUM	649	81	12.5		
FISB	S 8	6	\$ 7		
IECK CBE	21	ĭ	5.3		
FEFTILIZEE	È	è			
ICIS	11	,	4.3		
COLLOR	155	3	i.i		
EYEFE	39	1	1.7		
CEUEE HIREBALS	42	Ċ	1,2		
IRACIORS	48	, č	Ç. Ş		
JEEELBY	è	ŏ	3.0		

Major COCOM Countries: Trade With the USSR, Jan-Sep 1979

	Exports			Laports		-
	Te World (Billion US \$)	To USSR (Billion US S)	USSR Share' (Percent)	From World (Million US S)	From USSR (Billion US S)	USSR Shere (Percent)
Major COCOM	156.6	10.3	1.2	596.3	8.4	1.4
United States	130.2	2.5	1.9	157.8	63	<u></u>
Canada	41.5	໙	0.8	44.4	KECL	<u> </u>
Japan	KJ.	1.9	2.5	773	I.J	
Presce	71.8	1.5	2.1	76.1	1.2	1.7
lesty	30.0	0.8	1.4	51.9	13	14
United Kingdom	65.1	0.7	1.0	73.4	13	26
West Germany	123.7	2.6	71	1124		1.7
Desired from manage				(174	2.7	2.4

Derived from unrounded data.

Secret

Solected Western Countries: Share of Total and Energy Imports From the USSR, 1978

	Total Imports	Of which: Energy	Of which:			
			Coal	Crude Oil	Oil Products	Gas/Electricity
COCOM!	И	3.6	4.9	4.4	7.5	U
L'alted States	ພ	u	0	NECL.	0.3	0
Caseda	Ql		0	0	0	ō
Japan	1.8	0.7	4.1	0	2.3	0
Belgista/Lusenbourg	I.O	2.7	1.6	1.8	7.7	0.1
Denmark	2.0	117	0	19.3	8.9	- 0
France	13	3.8	4.2	2.7	17.8	0.6
Greace	3.5	16.0	8.1	17.8	7.3	0
Italy	2.8	9.1	7.3	(J	121	47.9
Netherlands	1.0	41	0.7	0.2	19.5	0.1
Norway	0.9	41	0	8.2	1.1	4.9
Portugal	1.9	10.0	0	12.5	0	83
United Kingdom	1.7	\$.5	3.2	3.9	12.7	0.1
West Germany	2.1	u	1.9	0	12.71	01,
Other OECD	3.0	HLS.	7.3	£.4	27.2	4J
Australia	HECL	•	0	0	0	0
Asstrie	2.0	35.1	18.2	K)	1.2	85.5
Finiend	18.8	64.4	34.1	66.1	86.6	79.5
Ireland	0.7	5,3	0	0	8.9	0
Spele	Q.6	1.0	1.1	0.9	เม	0.1
Sweden	2.7	13.5	17.9	7.7	19.3	0
Switzerland	2.2	21.7	13	6.3	28.5	0

Excluding data for Turker.

* West German satural ges imports are included under oil products.

Selected Western Countries: Value of Total and Energy Imports From the USSR, 1978

Million US \$

	Total Imports	Of which: Energy	Of which:			
			Cost	Crude Oil	Oli Products	Ges/Electricity
COCOM!	14,831	4,521	277	1,853	2,062	324
United States	\$40	44	0	3	40	0
Cenada	26	0	•	0	0	0
Japan	1,409	367	133	3	70	0
Belghem/Lucrembourg	469	159	13	57	89	1
Deamark	302	361	0	ISI	110	0
Frence	1,225	- 604	54	. 28	213	8
Grecce	364	228	2	210	16	0
Italy	1,535	1,214	13	677	174	312
Netherlands	533	330	2	12	124	NEC1.
Norway	102	83	0	42	12	3
Portugal	95	E2	0	81	0	XECL
United Kingdom	1,330	511	•	363	239	NECL.
West Germany	2,489	764	7	0	775'	21
Other OECD	7,348	2,494	177	1,867	LAX	302
Australia	- 6		0	9	0	0
Aastris	408	461	50	201	4	227
Fieland	1,475	1,160	H	691	300	75
kelaad	44	.36	0	0	23	0
Speta	112	\$5	7	44	4	0
Swedon	549	451	24	123	304	0
Switzerhad	516	418	2	24	388	0

^{*} Excluding data for Turkey.

* West German natural gas imports are included under eil products.

Selected COCOM Countries: Dependence on the USSR for Various Metals and Minerals, 1978

Precent of Total Imports

	United States	Japan	France	italy	United Kingdom	West Germany
Chromium/ Chrome Ore	14	6	•	4	0	11
Cobalt Magnesium Matiaum	0	. 0	0	0	0	0
Magnesium	Ą	4	13	0	d	3
latioum	ŧ	32	13	3		14
Tengsten	0	MA	0	0	0	
litsolum	41	KA	0	0	0	<u> </u>
ellediem Ukodiem	35	813	78	NA	KA	11
hodium	17	44	•	XA	NA.	NA NA

MA Indicates Not Available.

Estimated Western Financial Exposure to the USSR. (As of 30 June 1979)

Billios US S

	Commo-del Busk	Government Guerenteed *	Total Exposure
COCOM		·	
United States	0.4	0.4	, QJ
4			
Beigium/Luxessbourg	1.0	0.1	1.1
France	2.2	U	€5
Italy	0.9	2.4	N _
Other OECD	_		
Anstria	ເນ	6.5	0.4
Switzerland	6.8	0.2	1.0
Other *	2.4	0.4	24
l'atal	12.6	KI	24.5

The estimates of country finiscial exposure to the USSR differ from our estimates of Soviet external debt at pearend 1978 (\$17.2 hillion of which \$10.3 hillion is used to private lenders and \$6.9 hillion to official lenders) for the following reasons:

(a) consecrcial bank lending statistics include loans to CEMA's International lends for Economic Cooperation (IBEC):

Economic Cooperation (IBEC):

(h) and international secretarion of the lends include both draws creation and

(b) government-guaranteed totals include both d'awa credits and undrawa commitments on signed contracts.

¹ Estimated from statistics reported by the Borne Union which include both credit principal and fature interest payments. We decapitalized those data by assuming average credit terms of eight

decapitation these data by assuming average credit terms of eight year maturity and 7.2-percent interest rate.

1 Including Canada, Denmark: Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. We leck adequate data to distribute these by lender for the commercial banks. However, Canadian and Swedish Government bank ir one are 50.1 billion and \$1.2 billion respectively. The other povernient banked loans are less than \$50 million each.